there is the striped mouse, Mus pulchellus Gray (zómó III), which gnaws the nuts. A kind of black rot affects the nuts here and there during certain years. A number of caterpillar species which consume the leaves can scarcely be designated as actual pests. It is probable that the black rot has led the women to the belief that other women are capable of making their groundnuts sick and of ruining them by means of "medicine." They try to counter this trick with a medicine consisting of the bones of the turtle, the elephant, the pig, and the guib, which are burned to ashes and then crushed; it is scattered on the seeds before planting. Of the remaining medicines that are supposed to influence favorably the growth of groundnuts, the most important one consists of rubbing the groundnuts with a specially prepared coloring made from red wood, ba-ayɛ́'; accordingly, this medicine is called ba-ayɛ́'. This red coloring (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") produces the desired results and fends off hostile intentions. Red is everywhere the color of joy, growth, and reproduction. On the day the woman plants the groundnuts, she paints a line between her index finger and thumb with the "medicinal red" which will give her a lucky hand; or she draws a similar line on the upper surface of a tree stump and covers the stump with leaves, like a cap. This is to say: "May you groundnuts blossom, grow, and thrive (the red color is for this) under such a protection (referring to the leaves); nobody will be able to do you any harm (referring to the medicine)." Furthermore, on the eve of sowing, the man usually sets a good example for the groundnuts "assembled" in the basket /91/ by performing coitus for their benefit. With this example he sends them on their way: "Multiply! (1)" Another

1. This is done even when the woman is menstruating, whereas sexual intercourse is otherwise avoided during this period. In this case, as a medicinal act, sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman is supposed to be particularly good for the groundnuts, on condition that the woman "brings good luck (ayɔ̃ɛ)" (see Section 18, "Sexual Life").

1. Fruit of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abul), because of the quantity of its fruit; hence also its name abul from abul, "much" (compare a bue, "break into pieces," for then there are many pieces!).

2. Herb of the Amaranthaceae Aerua lanata (L.) Juss. (angō'nengō'ne III, angō'ngō'ne = assimilated, angō'ngōno), because of its abundant inflorescence.

3. Fruit of the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofgē), because of its many fruits (cf. groundnut medicines).

4. Fruit of the Euphorbiacea Staphysora duseni Pax. (owūwūmu II and III), because of its many flowers; hence the name is derived from a wūmu, "to put forth," the name being formed by reduplication.

5. Pulverized leaves of the melegueta pepper, Aframomum melegueta K. Schum. (andūn), likewise because of the luxuriant growth of the plant. /98/

All these items are stirred together in water inside the vessel and are then squirted onto the young ngon plants by means of a piece of stalk of the Cissus (pfăzŏk IV), so that the ngon may "grow as luxuriantly as the Cissus shoot."

Depending upon the region, the various elements and admixtures of the medicine differ; frequently some of them are used by themselves. For instance, Staphysora mixed with charcoal is scattered on the plants. All the components of the medicine listed above, however, are chosen because they can transfer their power to the ngon plants.

The economic importance of ngon is indicated by the fact that among the Ntum and Fang the women who planted the ngon are forbidden to have sexual intercourse for three months. The significance of this disproportionately long period of fast, if I may call it such, may be measured by the fact that in the important women's cult Melang, for instance, the initiates are forced to practice only ten days' sexual abstinence, and in the most important men's cult, the

Sso of the Jaunde, sexual abstinence effectively lasts only three months. The Fang say that the ngon would not grow if the prohibition were broken, and since with them the belly counts for more than love, this prohibition is generally observed.

Only the softer interior of the ngon kernel can be eaten. The kernels must therefore be cracked open, and this is done by means of a little stick from the tree Microdesmis puberula Hook. f., Euphorbiaceae (obĭmyŏ́n), with which they lightly strike the seed after placing it on end. Old and young, men and women, participate in this task which is carried out inside and in front of the dwelling house, as well as in the meeting house. It is an activity characterized by a peculiar clicking noise not easily forgotten once one has heard it. In spite of its importance in the household, the ngon is not prepared in a great variety of ways; like the groundnut, it is eaten only in the form of a soup or it is pulverized and boiled in a leaf bundle.

In conclusion, patient reader, kĭ́ndắn (guess a riddle!); kĭ́ndắn (I guess):

akŏ̄n	afṓ,	e	mane	nkū́na	ngūī,
spear	one,	he	makes ready	herd-swine.	

Answer:

okŏ̄k	ofṓ,	e	mane	dĭ́ăd	e	ngŏ̂n
beater	one,	he	makes ready	bush plate	(with)	ngon.

Yams, as a secondary crop with ngon, are of two principal kinds: the three-leaved yams, Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andĕ̄ă); and the common yams, Dioscorea minutiflora Engl. (emvūī). /99/ Each has four species. In addition, the Pangwe differentiate two more kinds which, however, perhaps belong to Dioscorea minutiflora or are close to it: kŏ́ŏ́ III Ntum, dzŏ́ (plural, bŏ́ŏ́) Fang; and ebṓŏ́. In the Jaunde region there is furthermore the Jaunde yam with large tubers, ekṓŏ́a Jaunde. Finally, the air tuber yam, Dioscorea sativa L. (alŏ́k), is also cultivated, but only in very small quantities. As we said above, the conditions for the growth of the yam resemble those of the ngon; it also climbs up the brush and trees left lying about,

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1. Pitfalls (ebɛ̄̀, ndáh I)

The simplest kind of trap, the pit, is to be found throughout the entire region. Everywhere along the paths through the forest there are narrow, rectangular pits, many of which are three meters deep. They are so close to the path that at times they can be a source of danger -- carefully covered as they are -- to pedestrians who are not paying close attention. Near the bottom they become so narrow that a person falling into them remains hanging wedged between the walls halfway /118/ /Fig. 67 appears here in the original text/ and cannot get out again by himself. Pits having pointed posts at the bottom are not for wild animals; they are used only in war. The pits are usually constructed by two people, the owners, of whom one digs while the other carries away the dirt. The person who has done the digging may not have any sexual intercourse for five days after this work, for the pit is a hole like the female sex organ; thus, if he were to defile himself through sexual intercourse with a woman, he would not catch anything in the pit.

2. Spring traps (ekūi̯dí)

The Pangwe distinguish seven types of spring traps, that is to say, traps in which the animal is killed either by a tree trunk suspended over a passage and released by means of a trigger device or by a freely balanced, weighted plate, raised above the ground.

A. True spring traps for wild animals
   1. ekūidi-oà̯b or oà̯b
   2. ekūidi-eq̀ūg
   3. ekūidi-nkɔ̀k
   4. akū̀ba-ekūidi

B. Rat spring traps
   5. ekūidi-o-si̯
   6. ekūidi-o-jo'b

C. Spring plates
   7. akūi

/119/ /Figs. 68 and 69 appear here in the original text./

Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.

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Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

five hens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether corresponds approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the Triumfetta (okɔ̀ŋ) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abɔ̃m, bɔ̃me IV) or of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ezɔ̃ŋ), and poison (nlɔ̃). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ekiai a bɔ̃me o ɔ̃ŋ « the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abɔ̃ma from a bɔ̃m, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

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[435]
[824]
[826]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

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not be good. This extremely unpleasant prescription, in conjunction with the expensive medicine, stands in the way of a greater distribution of smelting enterprises. Even in places where a hut for iron smelting is already in existence, people prefer to buy iron from others if their own has been a failure several times, for this misfortune is attributed to the failure of the fire as a result of the sexual /226/ impurity of one or a number of the participants. The importation of European iron in recent years is dealing a death blow to the native industry. The fear of bringing anything impure (and all sexual matters are pre-eminently regarded as such) into contact with pure fire goes so far that a medicine is made by those participants whose wives menstruate during the smelting. This consists of a diamond-shape piece cut out of the bark on the supporting beam of the smelting hut on the side facing the furnace, and it is supposed to represent the female sex organ. The symbol is rubbed with redwood which has been pulverized by the woman concerned and represents her blood flow; it is covered with a leaf of the Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mang[illegible]me III Fang) to indicate that one wants everything impure to be hidden and therefore harmless. At the same time the plant is supposed to cause the iron to coalesce to the same degree as the individual fruits are united in a syncarp. In Plate 17 one can see a piece of the leaf on the supporting post (top left), as well as (somewhat lower down) a bark container which holds fragments of ancestors' skulls, a number of antelopes' horns, and a great variety of other medicines that are used later. That the people concerned with the ancestor cult are regarded as particularly suited to bring the work to a successful conclusion is apparent from the fact that they alone may tend the fire (see Fig. 183).

The smelting of iron is thus above all under the aegis of the fire cult, but it is also closely linked with the worship of the ancestors who contribute to the success of the enterprise insofar as it lies in their power to do so.

Iron crops out in the form of brown iron ore (Nki IV) (1) and is

1. The analysis carried out by Mr. Du Bois at the suggestion of Professor Pufahl (Königliche Bergakademie in Berlin)

intercourse. During this period, the ore is carried to the hut in baskets and piled up there, and charcoal (miĕ, mĕ) is obtained. The charcoal must be especially "strong," and for that reason it is obtained only from the following five trees: 1) Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebā); 2) Erythrophloeum guineense Don., Leguminosae (elŏn); 3) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosae (odŏm); 4) Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms, Leguminosae (andzĭmĭ); 5) Irvingia grandifolia Engl., Simaroubaceae (ngŏŏ IV). The wood is heaped up in small piles near the village, set on fire, and, when it is charred, extinguished while still glowing. The water with which it is extinguished is skillfully squirted out of the mouth like a shower.

In Bebai, among the Schumu family (Woddo region) where I saw the smelting, a smaller hut stood next to the smelting hut (Fig. 181, Drawing 2); this hut contained nothing but a sleeping bench (g), a poker hook (q), and a number of spare blast pipes (r) for the furnace. The hut owner for whom the smelting was to be done the next day spent the last night in it in order not to succumb to the temptation of violating the above-mentioned rule at the last moment. This precautionary measure shows how steadfastly the Pangwe actually observe the many commandments.

In the morning the workers appear with their tools, the blast pipes (bĕŋ IV), and bellows.

The bellows without valve -- but in contrast, it does not have wooden sticks used as handles. It is made of soft wood (see page 246); from its two bowl-shaped enlargements (Pangwe: alĕ-nkĕ̄m, "bellows ears") separate shafts lead /228/ /Fig. 181 appear here in the original text/ into the tip (Pangwe: ndzŏ̄ŋ'-nkŭ̄m, "bellows nose"). The bowls are covered with animal hide with the hairy side inward, or (only among the Jaunde) with leaf sheaths of the banana tied together in a tuft. Since the hides are moved directly by hand and not by means of sticks, only soft hides can be used, such as those of the long-tailed monkeys, the potto, the civet cat, and the African dwarf buck Neotragus batesi Winton.

The pit in the smelting hut is stuffed full to the rim with leaves of the umbrella tree, so that after the completion of the smelting process it can be cleaned of the charcoal remains without any

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884 By this answer, he secures for himself the mild judgment with
[672] which we dispose of "silly boys' pranks."

For children, bə̂ngo, therefore, quite a different yardstick is applied; what they do, especially in respect to sexual matters, is not taken seriously.

bə̂ngo bá bə̂ŋ́ osoo = children have no sense of shame, and
• 834 the other way around, adults do not display much towards chil-
155 dren (see homosexual life, Vol. II, page 131), since, after all,
864 children simply do not know what evil (nə̂) is or what shame (o-so-n) means. If the otherwise, at least externally, very modest Negroes say this themselves, we should not hope to find many of the characteristics of a true, innocent ebi'n among the children. As a matter of fact their first playful imitations of
838 sexual intercourse as they observe older people performing it
839 begin at five or six years of age; between the age of eight and nine "playing parents" is nothing but perfectly conscious sexual intercourse, though it is generally regarded as a game and was cited to me in the category of "children's games" under the name ebə̂bə̂ne-bə̂ngo (Ntum) or ebə̂'nebə̂ne bə̂ngo (Fang). It is usually done in the forenoon /253/ in the dwellings when the parents are in the fields or absent elsewhere. The partners are not only boys and girls, but also boys among each other. Later, at the age of eight to 10 years and frequently somewhat beyond, many boys manifest a similar inclination towards members of their own sex, along with a sexual urge for girls of the same age. In view of the emphasis on maintaining, as long as possible, the outward appearance of modesty, the Pangwe boys make use of a device whereby they come to an understanding "metaphorically." A boy
[201] rakes some earth and sweepings onto a leaf, ties this hastily together like a food bundle, and gives it to the other. If the latter is ready to respond to the proffered affection, he will open the bundle and pretend to eat of it, saying finally, "me mane a dii," that is, "I have eaten." If he is not inclined to respond, he will throw away the bundle, of whose contents he has full knowledge.

Concerning masturbation, see below, page 130.

§41 Hence, according to rule, menstruation should start in the first few days after the new moon, but unfortunately the white-haired old fellow seems to take his task rather lightly and is rarely dependable. In order to hasten the appearance of menstruation and thereby to make the girl capable of bearing children or, better yet, to make her accessible to men, a medicine is used. Sexual intercourse during menstruation is not exactly prohibited, but it
• [§34] [§24] is nonetheless regarded as unaesthetic and is usually avoided. In order to staunch the blood (a dlíp makjí), the women stuff dry plantain tow into the vagina, a process which they repeat from time to time. They also have medicines designed to hasten the end of the flow of blood.

§32 §24 In view of the lack of moderation with which the Pangwe from early youth indulge their sexual desires, the young man at an early age feels the need to fortify his sexual powers. For this reason, they take medicines, bilá nkíp, medicines for the penis, whose effects are thought of as a transference of characteristics, in accordance with the conceptions described earlier concerning the power of organization /Ed., not translated/. I shall mention the following.

1. Hardwoods, to transfer their hardness to the penis: Albizzia brownei Oliv., Leguminosae (angók); Baccaurea bipindensis Pax., Euphorbiaceas (mbíñ-afán I), leaves ground in ngon and eaten; Carpolobia alba Don., Polygalaceae (ondo, tíme[k] IV Fang, tí me Ntum), a remedy frequently used, /265/ /Fig. 85 appears here in the original text/ the leaves eaten with an egg and a piece of the stem is tied around the body so that it lies over the seat (Fig. 85, a); Cyclostemon gilgianus Pax., Euphorbiaceas (onód mák, i. -mák), root scraped into an egg, stem piece worn as in the previous case; Tricalysia tessmannii Krause, Rubiaceae (ntí me-afán IV Ntum), likewise; Cola pachycarpa K. Schum., Sterculiaceae (ekóm), fruit kernels eaten; Clerodendron bipindense Gürke, Verbenaceae (nkíke fám = men's liana), leaves ground with true Cola and eaten.

2. Thorns whose stiffness is supposed to be transferred to the penis: Lonchocarpus barteri Benth., Leguminosae (ofó a fám a

In the case of gonorrhea, the infected woman can demand
144 damages only if she notices the misfortune before she has been
689 paid for the favor rendered. The damages amount to 400 spears if the disease came from a person of the same kin group, and 1000 spears if it came from a person of another kin group. With the payment the "temporary marriage contract" is terminated, and thereby any claim for damages is nullified. In other words, it is always a good idea to pay one's debts as soon as possible:

[539] a bǐn, a bǐn, a bǐn abɛ̌ mayɔ̌k.
Keeping, keeping, it strikes (a) poor bargain.

The person who always keeps his money to himself runs into an unfavorable price situation.

Their unrestrained sexual intercourse has a highly deleterious
891 effect upon the Negroes; it weakens and stupefies them. Smaller
961 boys are often quite useful as servants, but once they reach sexual maturity and become acquainted with women, they can simply no longer be used. The Pangwe recognize this bad influence, and intelligent ones among them did not hesitate to confess frankly to me that their sexual practices corrupted them and made them incapable of strenuous physical or intellectual work. We do not need the testimony of individuals, however -- popular customs demonstrate this insight sufficiently. I believe that, aside from
[894] being based upon the original religious conception concerning the sinfulness of sexual intercourse and its incarnation in the woman, the abstinence rules for war and hunting expeditions and for iron smelting are based on the experience that sexual intercourse weakens the man's physical and intellectual capacities. Naturally, the man is inclined to heap the blame on women /268/
[196] and bebɔ̌n, "vaginas," as he contemptuously calls them (1).

171 1. "Terms which originally only signified 'vulva' or 'cunnus' but were then generalized into the concept 'wenches,'" exist everywhere in Europe, too; see Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen

sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is supposed to become spiritually great and important, just as the elephant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

Thus, the child becomes miɨk. Its loincloth is taken off and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sɔ̄-m, root sɔ), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miɨk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, especially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by custom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miɨk are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

946 On the second day after the delivery the mother may go outside to relieve herself, but otherwise she stays in the house for eight or ten days. Then she rubs herself and the child daily with red wood, for a month if she is in the village of her parents or for two months if she is in her husband's house. Only after this period has elapsed does she again take up her customary work.

● 934 946 The woman has to observe a special diet before and after the confinement only with respect to the food taboos discussed previously. On the other hand, she must abstain from sexual intercourse until the child can walk (two years), for if she does not, the worm, even death, is to be feared for the little one. Of course, especially towards the end of this period, a great many infringements of this taboo occur; in such a case one speaks of a nǎbe bǒ'ngo (literally: to cast the children away, to thrust them away from oneself).

953 962 The child is nursed for a like period since the milk is supposed to diminish and dry up only after resumption of regular sexual intercourse. However, the flow of milk resumes in case of renewed pregnancy, so in that case the child can again be nursed. Even later, often until the seventh year, the sturdy urchin now and then still enjoys the sweet draught. If the mother is tired of giving the breast, she simply rubs her nipples with pepper (Capsicum).

/277/ Section 19

Childhood and Games

000 1. Names and name-giving. Time at which the name is given, announcement of the name. -- Names given by the mother. -- Variation of names among the subtribes. -- Classification of names. -- Names with explanation: A. Boys' names and their classification; B. Girls' names. -- Nicknames, jocular verse with nicknames. -- Full name (father's name, kin group, name of the mother's kin group), example. -- Series of

586 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mbon nzūi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bumanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

593 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than
[825] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during
[834] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

684 In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
837 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

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in all this part of central Africa, where the ox is unknown because of trypanosomiasis.

the produce of hunting and fishing, and these exist until the time of puberty. They signify, according to L. Martrou, that in the family group there should be "no useless mouth," . . . "but rather arms and hearts capable of defending and enriching it." (2) Thus

2. L. Martrou, Les "Ékis" des Mfang [The "Ékis" of the Fang] op. cit.

[834] it is forbidden to cohabit with a woman before being circumcized (3)

3. V. Largeau, op. cit. article: Interdit [Interdict].

541 In the same way various rites mark the steps of this ascent: the
578 rite of the Sɑ̀ɑ̀ for the ten-year-old children; (4) circumcision,
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4. M. Bertaut in his thesis on the Boulou of the Cameroons, a related nation, speaks of a less degraded form of the Sɑ̀ɑ̀ which was the center of a true "society of men" now almost vanished.

which is not accompanied by any initiation (but seems rather to bear public witness to virility and to show the individual as an active male), and above all, the "revelation" of the Biéri. When
541 the young man joins the company of men, he has experienced in
578 various degrees of intensity [153] this biological, social, and
885 spiritual dependence on his ancestors (mvam) and on his elders (nyamɔ̀rɔ̀). To them he owes his life, his security, his social existence. Even after having crossed the various steps and being able to take full part in the assembly of men, he receives from

the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage" —Sa nnuba, ve alu' e we kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

Thus it is the absence of payment of the nnuba that gives their character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing. He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are bîôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

301 Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, anem
[341] or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsange; bracelets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains, bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her
[164] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death, by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decomposition. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's
[412] family, even in case of divorce; the éla was the person who distributed it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of
305 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten; placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin
[325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore, these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

311 Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type,
[177] from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English "slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home, imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from "woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyallese (from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no
[94] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons, "drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants.
[177] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so
● 334 with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

uncovered it except when uttering a curse. Nowadays most women cover their breasts (1) with almost equal vigilance. /87/ In old-

1. The aesthetic standard in this connection is changing, especially in towns, as a result of European (cinema?) influence; one only rarely sees girls binding their breasts with strips of bark or cloth to make them fall.

fashioned villages widows still go back to the traditional dress after their seclusion: for eight days, sometimes longer, they wear the ébut made of leaves, which is then replaced by an old ndom or a jute sack that leaves the head and shoulders and thighs bare, then by a sack or an old khaki dress shaped like a sack with holes for head and arms.

Boys and girls used to run around naked until the first signs of puberty appeared, usually the pubic hair (Boulou, afañ /"h." in the text must be a misprint for "b."—Tr./; Fang, avul). Boys wore a special breechcloth of a special vegetable /material/ after circumcision while waiting for the wound to heal and afterwards had to wear a covering only if they had already started to grow hair. At present they wear clothes from the beginning of school age and even before that in militant Christian families and the urban bourgeoisie.

Body marks have fallen out of use with the exception of circumcision. First the men stopped filing their incisors to a point. Tattooing persisted longer, in Gabon until just before the Second World War. At present tattooing is being revived among urban pickpockets and syncretist associations. The face was tattooed, usually between the eyes but sometimes on the cheeks, with blue markings made of soot mixed with vegetable ash, or in red with padouk /?/ powder, baa. These marks could indicate clan or association affiliation, or even were imposed during or after a course of medico-magical treatment, or even to satisfy aesthetic demands. It was the same for cicatrices engraved in relief on chest or abdomen, which are nowadays described as being "to make nyanga" (!pretty," Coast English—of Hausa origin?). It is quite possible that some of the magic significance has been forgotten. The most important marks were the dorsal scarifications made at initiations: a triple row of incisions along the vertebral column, widening into a v at the nape

779 from an elephant's tail. He then sprinkles the victim, the
782 ancestral skulls, and finally the totem.
783 Upon returning from battle, warriors wash their weapons in lustral water so as to ward off the malevolent spirits of the dead.

Lustral water is also used in sacrifices made in expiation of violations of éki.

Afterwards the water is emptied in a remote spot. The chief often carries it back to the village and uses it to water the [124] tree, usually a fig tree, that was planted over the remains of his umbilical cord. This tree is an emblem of his own life, and the lustral water is in this case a sort of sacrifice. [509]

III. Fasting: nzè akhu

779 All important totemic ceremonies are preceded by fasts.
785 They are very strict, and the least infraction entails grave penalties.

They always take place in seclusion: those who are fasting are kept apart in the forest far from the village, shut up in small huts. During the fast it is strictly forbidden to drink or eat before sundown and to wash with water, although rubbing one's body with ashes is allowed. Furthermore, certain meats and fruits are prohibited, such as boiled food or fruit; fermented drinks, except on certain sacred days and before initiations, when, on the contrary, it is obligatory; and drinking from any kind of pot. If someone takes a drink inadvertently, the pot must be broken right away; nevertheless this act involves a ritual fault and requires expiation. One is supposed to drink from a brook, using
● [134] a leaf rolled into a cone (oké ésaga). Finally, throughout the fast all intercourse with women is absolutely prohibited (évek).

779 The duration of the fast varies with the ceremony and the
785 initiation. For circumcision, for instance, it lasts usually a
821 lunar month (ngon). Other initiations rarely exceed seven days, let us say a lunar quarter, abôd ngon; the last quarter is usually chosen (méte méngon). The moon plays an important role in all

224 ditch, its point in the air, so that any animal falling in will almost certainly be pierced. Having finished with these preliminaries, the hunters make ready to actually beat for game. First there will have been a large sacrifice. Suppose a tribe has the scaly anteater (ya-mvil) for its totem. The tribal chief is the first to start on the hunt after a preparatory fast of three days. During that time he has remained apart in a small reed hut in the midst of the forest, eating only the food he brought with him, which he must first have placed on the évora biéri. He drinks only from an aromatic leaf folded into a cone; furthermore, he abstains from any relations with his wives, because contact with women is supposed at such times to be an offense against the totem (nsem éki). After these three days he makes a fetish, that is, a sacrifice to the tribal or clan totem, according to the usual practice; it consists of a goat at least or better a sheep. Formerly always and nowadays even occasionally, it was always a slave. After the sacrifice [555] the chief takes part of the victim -- the rest belongs to the practitioner -- and throughout the hunt, he must eat no other meat. He then leaves and returns to the village only when he has met with, captured alive if possible, or if not, slain, the totem animal. If he kills it he must take care that none of the animal's blood drips onto the path, thus risking being profaned, for that would be another ritual offense. Therefore the chief carefully closes the wound with dry leaves and the fluff from a banana tree.

While returning to the village the chief must be seen by no woman; he therefore takes care to announce his arrival by a special call, which is answered by a tom-tom, and then dashes into his hut. The women who happen to be in the village, outside their huts, must go inside quickly.

The totem animal is then placed on the évora biéri. If it is too large to fit, the chief opens it and puts on the évora the brains, lungs, and heart, the three parts which contain the life principle and the various souls. The carcass is offered in sacrifice in the accustomed manner and then divided among all the hunters.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F319 Fang F319

[192] trued-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the [192] wet season with load forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never [147] exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *kopi* and fit their backs. The *kopi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

[195] A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I [24] attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, [181] untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

[46] The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abeng* (= palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper [213] portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. [27] They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [171] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

[84] The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly [17] as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible [85] to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [92] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a [5] small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [134] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in